2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

368 Somewhere in the outskirts of the village are the public baths
[361] and the cemetery, a neglected field overgrown with weeds and
[764] decaying bamboo altars, with its temple of the Dead (c) and its mournful *kepuh* tree, a sad and eerie place. The bathing-place is generally a cool spot shaded by clusters of bamboo in the river that runs near the village, where all day long men and women bathe in the brown water in separate modest groups. Some villages have special bathing-places with fancy water-spouts and low walls of carved stone, with separate compartments for men and women. Tedjakula in North Bali is famous for its horse bath, a
[231] special compartment that is larger and even more elaborate than the baths for the people.

THE MARKET

366 Important towns have great utilitarian markets of cement and
443 galvanized tin where shrewd Arabs and Chinese keep regular shops of cloth and imported knick-knacks, but the average *desa* holds market under the shadow of the *waringin* or under square shades of straw mats like umbrellas. A few people sell there every
443 day; the " big " market takes place every third day of the religious calendar. There are " market associations " organized in groups of three *desas* that work together, holding market in rotation every day in each of the three villages. The women are the
[462] financiers that control the market; one seldom sees men in it, except in certain trades or to help carry such a load as a fat pig. Even the money-changers are women, who sit behind little tables
● [436] filled with rolls of small change, *kepeng*, Chinese brass coins with a hole in the middle, worth a small fraction of a cent (about five to seven to a cent according to the current exchange). These coins are strung into rolls of two hundred, called *satak* (one string of twenty-five cents). Prices in the market vary according
435 to the buyer; they are lowest to the villager in his home town,
443 slightly higher for the Balinese of other villages, and considerably higher to foreigners. This is customary and understandable if one takes into consideration the communal spirit of the village

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

and of the Balinese. It is significant that an average meal in the market costs a Balinese only twenty-five *kepeng* or about two or three American cents. The Balinese do not count in the present Dutch monetary system of guilders and cents; among themselves they use only the smallest unit, the *kepeng*, and the largest, the *ringgit*, big silver coins (worth two and a half guilders) that are normally divided into 1,200 *kepeng*. The Balinese cannot visualize a foreigner using *kepengs* and when I bought peanuts or a banana at a food-stand and they did not have Dutch pennies for change, the women vendors were amused to see me pocket a heavy string of *kepengs*. Accustomed to dealing in hundreds and thousands, they have acquired a surprising knowledge of mathematics, and the women can add, subtract, multiply, or divide with the speed of an adding machine. To test this ability we used to ask the women of our household for multiplications of numbers of several ciphers; with mysterious operations of a few *kepengs* spread on their laps, they always found a quick and accurate result.

The market reaches its height about noon, when it is hard to walk through the crowd of semi-nude women. At that time the animation is very great and the market resounds with the excited bargaining, the constant coming and going of people, and the squealing of the pigs that are mercilessly stuffed into baskets or carried in the arms of the women like babies. The thousand smells of coconut oil, flowers, spices, and dried fish combine to make the pungent smell so characteristic of Balinese markets. The soft browns and yellows of the women's skirts and the bright-coloured sashes they wear, the graceful movements and unconscious beauty of their poses, make of the market a show as interesting to watch as their luxurious and spectacular feasts. The excitement subsides gradually in the late afternoon, when the women return home loaded with the merchandise they have bought or with the empty baskets balanced on one corner, in the most absurd defiance of the laws of gravity, by the heavy strings of *kepengs* that record the day's sales. Most markets have a

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

of her ancestral gods and adopts her husband's. The emissaries go to the girl's house wearing krisses and in refined language they point to the virtues of the boy, to his good intentions, and to the advantages of the union. Reluctantly the girl's father gives in, but not until the amount of the "bride-purchase" money (*patumbas wadon*) has been settled. I was told in Den Pasar that the sum may vary from ten thousand to forty thousand *kepeng*, eight to thirty-two *ringgit* (silver dollars)[6] or even to as much as a hundred *ringgit*, which in normal times would be equivalent to 125,000 *kepeng*, quite a fortune for people that buy with *kepeng* the daily necessities of life.[7]

Mapadik. It may happen that the head of a prominent family of caste requests the daughter of a friend or relative as wife for his son to bring two great families closer together by a bond of blood. Such prearranged marriages are decided upon at times when the boy and the girl are still children, and the marriage is performed as soon as possible after the girl comes of age and before they fall in love with someone else. This must not be misconstrued as a form of the much publicized child-marriage of India; such marriages, where they do not take place until the girl is a woman, there is no law that enforces them, and there is

[6] Normally a *ringgit* is worth one gold dollar: two and a half guilders. There were 500 *kepeng* in one guilder in 1930, although in 1933 the Dutch guilder had gone up to 700 *kepeng*.

[7] In Buleléng brides are more expensive than in South Bali; Lieffrink stated the price there as from 400 to 600 *ringgit*, and Van Eck put it between 100 guilders to 600 (or from 40 to 240 *ringgit*), but Dr. Korn, the latest authority, mentions in his *Adatrecht* that in Balinese law documents the sum is seldom above 20,000 *kepeng* (16 *ringgit*), and consequently the price would be lower for a girl of low caste. The price is further depreciated for widows, the divorced, and so forth, while the rate goes up to foreigners, for palace women, or in case of forceful kidnapping. Perhaps the rate is exaggerated and it is possible that brides are getting cheaper with the gradual impoverishment of Bali. It is not without reason that Korn believes that the ransom money cannot be taken literally as a price for the girl, since the trousseau she takes along is often more valuable than the money paid for her. The ransom for a widow is not paid to her parents but to her parents-in-law. In prearranged marriages (*mapadik*) there is no ransom money, since many presents and personal services are made by the bridegroom to the girl's father. There is no money paid if the bride's father has no male descendants and he wishes to adopt his son-in-law as a *sentana*, a legitimate son for the purpose of inheritance. Korn suggests that the money is paid rather as ransom to the house gods and not to the parents.

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

764 A good average for a great cremation is seldom less than a
435 thousand *ringgits* or about two million *kepengs* (a *ringgit* is worth
[436] about one gold dollar in normal exchange), but there have been cremations of princes that cost as much as fifty thousand guilders (at the time of writing, about twenty-five thousand dollars).

The cremation of the mother of Naséh, a former servant of ours, was the poorest we ever witnessed. She was burned three days after her death with only the most essential rites, but even then the costs amounted to more than the fifty guilders that Naséh had succeeded in borrowing. A unique and rather improvised cremation of a nobleman of Pemetjutan cost only three hundred and fifty guilders because the body had to be burned on the same day the death occurred and I was told by the relatives that had the corpse been kept for the reglementary forty-two days, the cremation would have cost over two thousand guilders. The extraordinary decision to cremate a man of high
[796] caste immediately became possible only because the festival that the community was preparing for, their greatest in a decade, could not have taken place had there been an important uncremated corpse in the village. The family was in difficult financial circumstances and they welcomed the decision.

[793] A Brahmanic priest is essential to a proper cremation, and only the destitute would call upon a lesser priest. The quality of the ceremonies the priest performs is determined by the fee paid to him. There is a choice of three kinds of cremation: *utama*, the highest, costing an average of fifty dollars in fees for the priest alone; *madia*, the medium-class cremation, for about twenty-five dollars; and *nista*, the low, for about five dollars. The rites for each are about the same, the difference consisting in the quality and power of the magic formulas and symbols and the sort of holy water used, the credentials given by the priest to the soul entering heaven, and the more or less thorough purification of the soul.

564 It is always a good resource, in a great cremation of a prince,
764 to provide a retinue of souls for his trip into the beyond and to

3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Bali OF7

out and the roads empty of people, when behind their barred gates the people go through a day of quietness intended to convey to whatever malevolent forces may lurk without that the village is deserted and that no one is at home.

If a death or other unfortunate event has rendered the village unclean when the appointed day of a festival falls due, the festival is passed over, and the gods are not invited to come down until the appointed day comes around again 210 days later. However, at any time when the village or the individual is not in a state of uncleanness, it is possible to enter the temple to address special prayers and to offer special offerings. Although the temple priest, the *pemangkoe*, may be asked to dedicate such offerings, his services are not absolutely necessary, and the prayers and offerings may be given directly to the gods by the individual. The gods are considered in some sense present in their temples, or at least not too far away for communication to be established with them, although they are not at the moment actually inhabiting their shrines.

The *odalan* or temple festival is an occasion on which the people of the village, having invited the gods to this temporary residence for a visit of three days' duration, prepare the house for them and offer them a religious service which symbolizes both refreshment and entertainment. To the villagers themselves it is a true festival, a celebration, a religious holiday. For three days before the event the men and women of each household, divided into groups, make preparations. If, for example, the women are called to the temple during the morning hours to sit weaving from fresh palm-leaf the thousands of offering containers in different shapes and sizes, the men are allowed to remain at home. Then the wooden slit-gong sounds, and from every side the men assemble, to put up temporary frames and altars to receive the offerings, to erect the decorative poles (*penjors*) of bamboo decked with palm-leaf, and to carry out, according to their skill, any repairs to the roofs of the pavilions or to the walls of the courts, of which the temple may have stood in need for many months. While the men work, the women are free to return to their households.

Each family, or better, household-unit, has allotted to it an equal share in the contributions necessary for the offerings: thus, two coconuts, a measure and a half of rice, three eggs, and about 15 cents in cash[3] may be the contribution levied on each of 500 households. If a

[3] These data were collected during the 1930s, when, under the Dutch Administration, the currency in use was the *ringgit*, a silver coin of about the size and value of an American silver dollar, and worth two and one-half *roepiah*, equivalent to a Dutch florin. The *roepiah* again was subdivided into 25 cent and 10 cent pieces, called *s'talen* (or *s'tali*) and *a-ketip* respectively. Chinese cash were current at about 170 to 185 to the "string," exchanged for the Dutch 25 cent piece. *Tali*

3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Bali OF7

man happens to have on his land a surplus of bamboo, and to be short of coconuts or rice, he can arrange with the keeper of the accounts to substitute this commodity to the value of his contribution. A record is kept, scratched upon a leaf of *tal* palm, of all contributions and defaults, both in work and in kind, and cumulative fines are imposed upon all who do not do their share. The temple as a rule possesses some funds, chiefly profits from the temple lands (*labaan*) which are under the custody of the priest, guardian, or *pemangkoe*. He makes a living from them, but all members of the temple have an equal share in the produce over and above his portion. If the produce has been divided and distributed among them earlier in the season, they are required to make up in money or in kind the value of their shares, as the needs of the temple festival have first claim upon these riches.

The temple priests who are the guardians of these temples have not studied as have the Brahmana high priests, the *pedanda*, who are often scholars and learned men. The temple priest may be drawn from any caste, Brahmana, Ksatrya, Vesya, or Soedra (Sudra), depending upon the population and caste distribution in the various villages. They are for the most part Soedra, and their office is not a particularly high one, not, for example, of anything like the importance of that of the *klian dèsa*, head, or literally, elder, of the village. They possess written instructions for the giving of offerings, the prayers, and the course the festival is to follow. These contain long minutely specified listings of the offerings for the festival and of the prayers, in the "old language," known as *kawi*, in the current High Balinese, and some few fragments of corrupt but still recognizable verses in Sanskrit. Many of these appear to be taken from the Vedas, and the term used in Bali for the high priest's praying is the verbal noun formed from the root *veda*, *meweda*. To these untutored temple priests the meaning of the Sanskrit fragments is frequently lost, and they content themselves with the repetition of them and the copying out of the texts every generation or so when the palm-leaf books begin to wear out. For this reason the errors which have crept into the versions preserved by the temple priests are very numerous, words and sometimes whole lines are lost, and phonetic changes occur which do not follow any rule, but are merely accidental and influenced to some extent by the pronunciation of similar words (often with quite different meanings) in current Balinese. It is a matter of some amazement to contemporary Sanskrit scholars that they are able today to identify any of the sacred texts which have been so care-

means string, in Sanskrit as well, and from this term the word *s'tali*, meaning one string, is derived. In the prescriptions for offerings written on *lontar* (*tal*) palm the amount of money was always given in Chinese cash, as 33, 66, etc., but during the years of our study the Dutch silver coins could be substituted.